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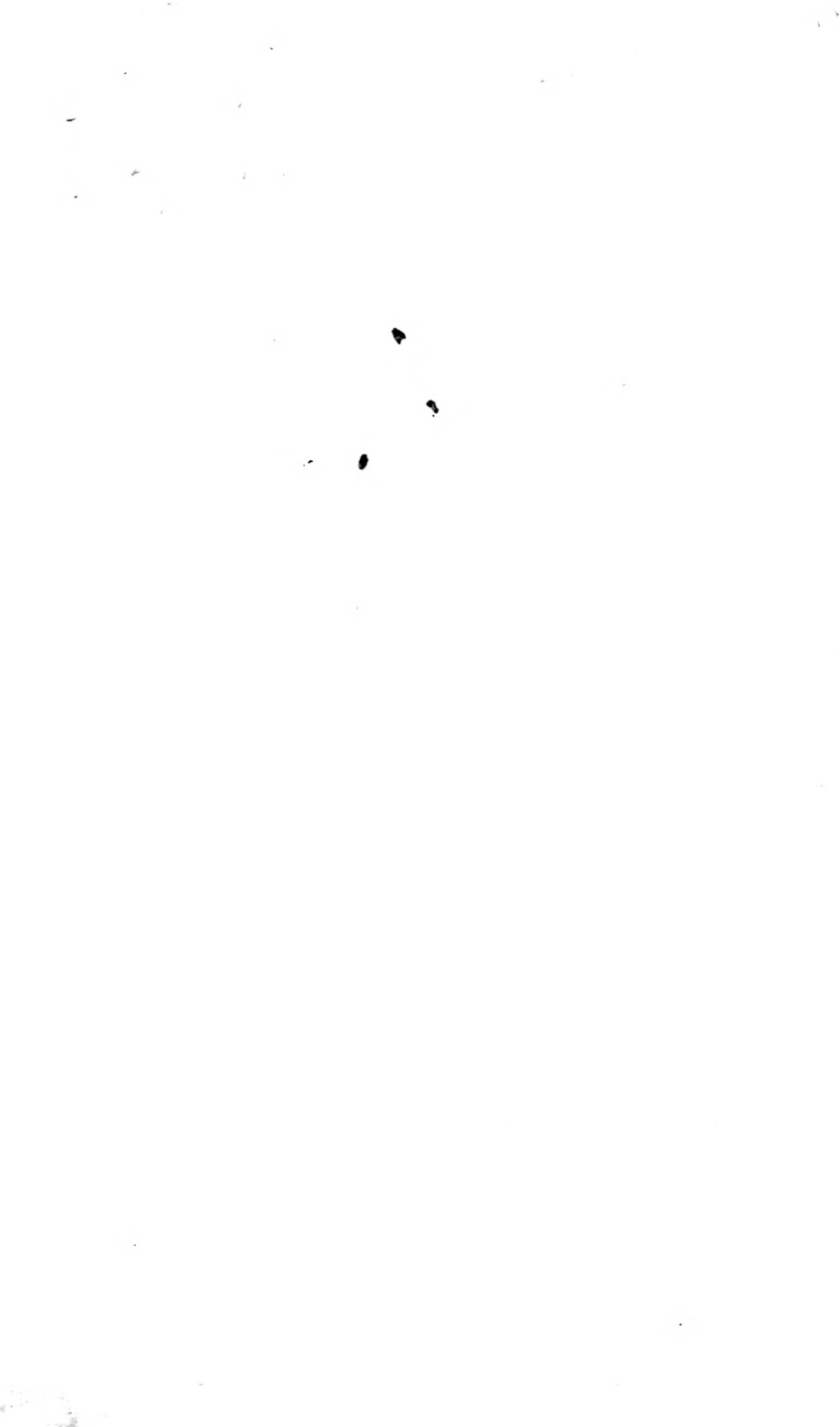
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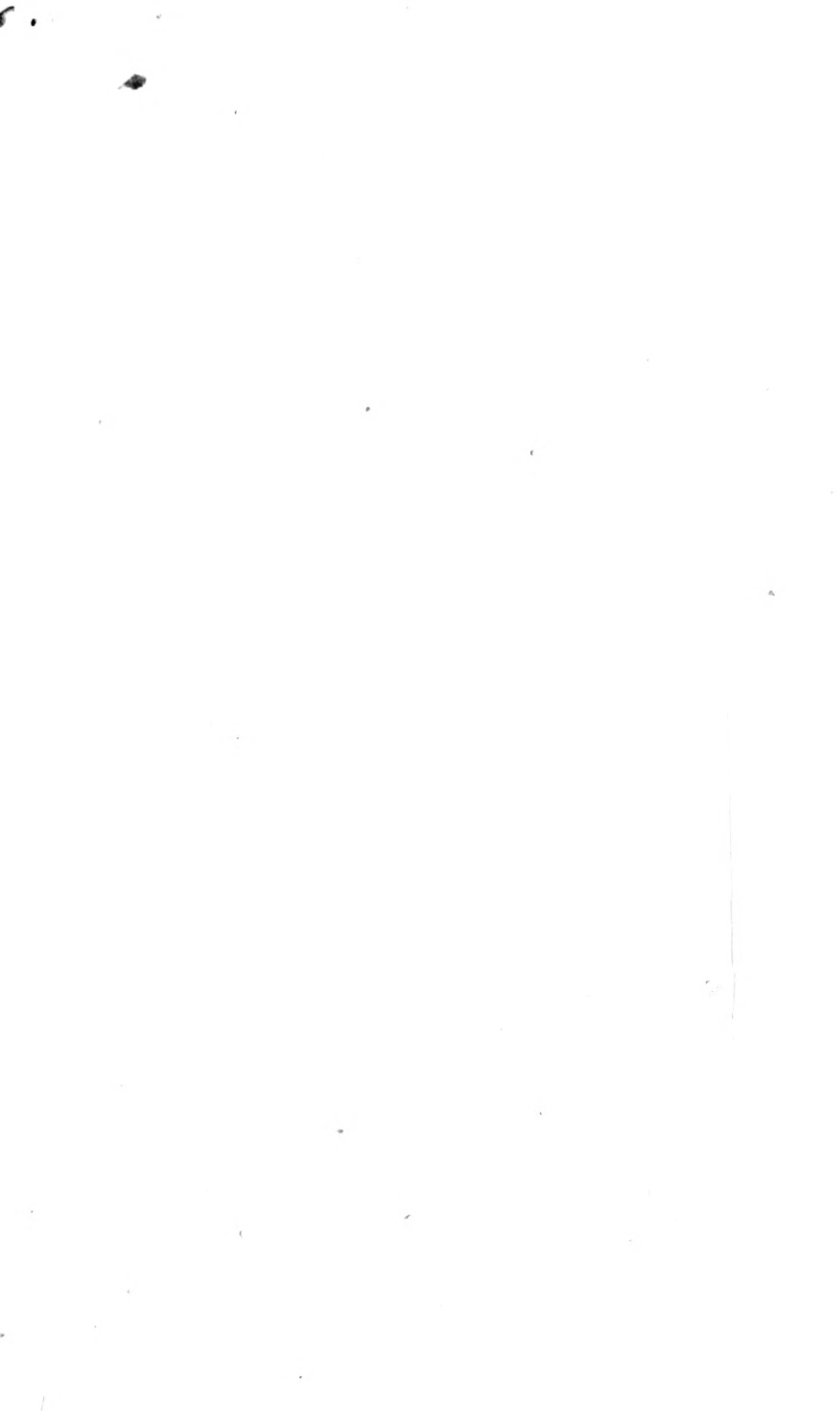


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INS AND OUTS  
CALLED TO AN ACCOUNT,

Sc. Sc.

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INS AND OUTS

CALLED TO AN ACCOUNT,

OR,

THE WRATH

OF

*J O H N B U L L.*

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Penny Wise and Pound Foolish.

OLD ENGLISH PROVERB.

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INS AND OUTS  
CALLED TO AN ACCOUNT,  
OR  
THE WRATH  
OF  
JOHN BULL.

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“THE last link is broken which still held me to Europe. All my interests that yet lurked on the Continent are swept away by a single stroke. In vain do I strive to draw a consolation from the conviction that the ocean is still left me, that its most distant waters are under my controul, and that its each separate wave owns me its sovereign; for, if it does not approximate me to my fellow-creatures and ceases to be the means of supplying our mutual wants, it is a vast desert, more melancholy than profitable to the solitary being that ranges it. My northern sister, united to me by nature, by interest, and by reciprocal attachment and confidence, the growth of so many years,—even she, in one moment of disgust, has broken all these ties, and not only forsaken me but joined my enemies. What can have caused this sudden revolution? Have I not always acted honourably

towards her? Have I ever failed in the duties of an honest man—of a friend? I hope not. The more I examine my conduct, the more I acquire the courage to lay my hand upon my heart and say: *all is quiet within!* Yet, by some strange fatality, all my intentions are marred, my proceedings misconstrued, and there where I meant to come as a friend, I am made to appear the aggressor. It is this that grieves me. The quantum of mischief which may be done on both sides, does not affect me half so much, as that my character should be suspected, and my fair name subjected to aspersion.”

Thus spoke John Bull, on whose countenance, that was wont to wear the smile of content, sat now brooding sorrow. His aspect was cloudy, and his brow contracted. He paused in deep thought, then rising suddenly and striking his forehead, he exclaimed with energy: “There is some villainy in this. My servants must have abused my confidence. It is time they should be called to an account. It is a justice which I owe to myself and to the world. I will this instant summon them. With the eye of an eagle will I search their soul; and with the voice of thunder will I question them. Halloo! John Bull’s servants come forth! The voice of your master calls you! Those who were and those who are in office, stand all in my presence!”

No sooner was the command given, than

John Bull, with the dignity of a judge, placed himself in an arm chair, and, after some bustle; the servants, one by one, some trembling like aspen leaves, some affecting the front of innocence, entered and ranged themselves in two rows before their master, whose scrutinising eye, as it fixed alternately on each, convinced them at once that he suspected them, and that all hope was lost of appeasing his anger, except by an open confession, to make which they were extremely unwilling.

“ Ye, Sirs, who have already been dismissed for incapacity and presumption, but whose proceedings have not yet been duly investigated, approach ! note my every word ! and answer truly every question !

“ I have lost my best friend in the Emperor of Russia ; and I am charged in the face of the world with a conduct which forced him to abandon me. It is from you, mark me ! it is from you, Sirs, that I expect an explanation, how far I am accused with reason, and how far you have gone in sullyng my honour.

“ The imperial declaration, after prefacing, that the more the friendship of England was prized, the more her departure from that friendship was regretted, proceeds thus :

*“ Twice the Emperor of Russia had taken arms in a war of which the immediate and approximate result referred to England. In vain*

did his Majesty insist, that, from a conviction of her own interest, she might resolve to co-operate with him. It was not to join her troops with those of Russia that she was invited, but merely to create a diversion. To the astonishment of his Majesty, she stood inactive in her own cause. Beholding with indifference the sanguinary scene of war kindled by herself, she sent some of her troops to take Buenos Ayres, while another part of her forces, collected in Sicily, was at length removed from that place. It was supposed, that this force, destined for Italy, would seek the Neapolitan shores; but it was employed in the attempt to conquer Egypt.

“ His Imperial Majesty beheld, with a still keener feeling of regret, that, contrary to good faith, and the precise and evident sense of the treaties, England was annoying the trade of his Majesty’s subjects by sea;—and at what time? . . . At the very moment that the blood of the Russians was flowing in those memorable battles, in which his Majesty’s troops had to withstand the whole force, directed against them, of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, with whom England was then, and is now, at war.”

“ Now, Sirs, have you digested well this part of the declaration? Do you understand, that I, who never yet blushed at the name I bear, am reproached with withdrawing myself from the Emperor’s friendship; with having refused to co-operate with him while he was fighting in my own cause; with indifference to the

bloody contest, the result of which so nearly concerned me ; with the sordid selfishness of embracing that opportunity to make conquests for myself ; and, lastly, with having annoyed the trade of his subjects by sea, at the very time that their blood was flowing in upholding my own interests in Europe ?——Know you aught of these charges ? Can you repel them ? Speak, Sirs !”

After a moment's pause, abashed by the angry glances of John Bull, but spurred on by the spirit of party, and tormented with spleen, the well known sullen and gloomy orator steps forward, pays his respects in his own peculiar manner, and his confusion subsiding apace, thus he addresses the mighty John Bull :

“ Our kind and indulgent master ! It grieves us, your trusty servants, that the splendid talents with which heaven has endowed us, and which dazzled this happy isle like a brilliant constellation . . . . .”

“ You mean like a comet ; the further it keeps from us the better.”

“ It shall be a comet, if it please our beloved master.——That our talents, then, which shone like a comet, were discarded and disowned. But surely a day will come, when they will again blaze forth with an increased lustre.”

“ God forbid !”

“ It is but justice to say, and a justice which malice itself cannot refuse, that the one short year, which, with the appendage of a month and a day, commenced and terminated our career, forms the most memorable epoch in the annals of the British history !”

“ So does the short space of time in which the great fire consumed one half of the city of London.”

“ In order, therefore, to enter upon our defence, as to particular points, it is necessary to take a review, in as concise a manner as possible, of all the transactions of which we were . . . .”

“ Guilty.”

“ Of which we were the principal cause ; and which are so interwoven together, that we cannot single out any one without breaking in upon the whole mass.”

“ It is a Gordian knot, to which there is no clue but the sword.”

“ From the first of our administration it was our principal care, as it must be of every upright man, to preserve consistency. *Consistency*, our beloved master, is like the *general good* of the modern philosophers—every thing must be sacrificed to it.”

“ Except your pensions.”

“ Our master is pleased to jest. He cannot but recollect, that our earliest endeavours were to diminish salaries, and to abolish all pensions.”

“ All that were not enjoyed by yourselves.”

Not being under the absolute necessity of noticing the latter remark, the orator, who became bolder and bolder, resumed :

“ By that consistency, therefore, we resolved to regulate our actions. It is in the memory of all who have the honour to know us, that, when out of place, we opposed Pitt’s system *in toto*. I say *we* ; because, though some of us, especially my friend on the right, at one time warmly supported it, we all yielded to the superior influence of the party which got at last into power ; and whose members were always inimical to Pitt ; not because they may have been right, and he wrong ; but because, if he were *right* it was their plan to be *wrong*. I repeat, then, that as we always opposed Pitt’s system when out of place, it was fit that, when in place, all our measures should be in opposition to his, in order to preserve our consistency.”

“ Plague on your consistency !”

“ This was the ground-work, the fixed ba-

sis, the grand spring, the main source, the established principle, the unerring rule, the sacred duty, the great wheel, round which all our actions turned."

"Your head is turned, Sir ! Less words and more sense, if you please !"

"The first step we took, was to make the nation believe that its finances were in a most ruinous state ; for no other reason than because Pitt declared they were flourishing. Though we knew that a "restless chief at the head of a restless nation" was not a person who wished sincerely for peace, or with whom such peace could be lasting ; yet, as this was Pitt's acknowledged sentiment, we were obliged, in duty to ourselves, to promulgate a contrary opinion, and immediately embarked in the *celebrated negotiation*. It did not succeed, and we were not such fools as not to foresee, what every body must have foreseen, that it would fail ; but we were determined to act up to our character. In the depth of our sagacity and penetration, we saw still further ; though it is possible that chance might have enabled a farmer's boy to see as far : we developed, as if by magic, the whole mystery in which the views of Napoleon were involved ; for, by the constant progress of his troops, nearer and nearer to the territories of Prussia, we immediately concluded, as every observer might have done, that the object of his continuing to negotiate was to suspend our co-operation with the Russians in favour of Prus-



sia. Being almost as great a genius as any of us, it seems he guessed, that if England did not assist Russia, a thing which could not be done while the negotiation was pending, the latter, whose military operations abroad depended chiefly on the succours from England, could not assist Prussia, who would then become, as the event proved, a safe and easy prey. That such were the secret calculations of Napoleon, was further evident from his dalliance with our ambassador at Paris; and from his hints often dropped so carelessly, that it only shewed how much he felt himself secure in our consistency.

“ In spite of all this, we were determined to persevere in the line of conduct, which we, so deliberately, and so much to our credit, had adopted. We continued our ambassador at Paris, until he was very near being kicked out, because Pitt would have recalled him long before that time. We fell in with the important story of the assassin, and made much of it; because Pitt would have taken no notice of it, at least, no further than the sending of the rascal, if there were such, out of the country. Pitt hated Talleyrand and his master; never cringed to them; never was deceived by them; never begged to them for peace; nor received any of their overtures, except through a proper channel; it was, therefore, incumbent on us to profess friendship for them; to pay them every homage; to allow them to make fools of us; to seek every trifling opportunity and every ridiculous pretext to scrape up a correspondence,

and patch up a peace with them; and to listen to their proposals through ever so indirect and ignoble a channel. In short, we negotiated; because Pitt would not have negotiated; and, though there were means of saving Prussia, notwithstanding her hostility towards us at the time, we neglected them; because Pitt would not have left them unemployed."

"This is a most singular justification, worth all the curiosities in the British Museum."

"With regard to the Emperor of Russia, we can say much in taxing him with injustice, duplicity, and treachery towards us."

"Silence, Sir! I want no recrimination. It is an easy task to throw blame upon an enemy; and I shall be at no loss for men who would undertake the office; but this is not my purpose. I wish to act a nobler part, by examining first my own conduct, and inquiring if every thing is right at home. You understand me, Sir! Now you may go on; but, take care to speak to the purpose!"

"We are at a loss to comprehend, dear master, what cause of complaint can the Emperor, with justice, allege against us."

"Do you mean, Sir, to trifle with me? Have I not stated already that cause or rather causes?"

The orator was a little discomposed; however, after some stammering and hesitation, he summoned all his courage, and proceeded:

“ To come then to the point, we really think that we have performed every thing his Imperial Majesty expected from us. It is true we gave him no assistance; but we had many weighty reasons for it. The first is, *consistency*.”

“ I thought you had done with consistency.”

“ The second, *economy*; and third, *policy*. These are the grounds upon which I mean to rest our defence. Now as to consistency.

“ We have always opposed the doctrine of subsidies, particularly as it was broached by Pitt; it was not, therefore, to be expected that we should grant them, how urgent soever might be the necessity. How often have foreigners taken our subsidies, and then laughed at our simplicity after leaving us in the lurch?”

“ I know that, Sir, as well as you, but this is not the question. Our business is with the present Emperor of Russia. Has he ever, or has he not betrayed us? Answer that, and be just, Sir!

“ I cannot say he has. After the battle of Austerlitz he certainly behaved most honourably. He made no terms with the enemy, though such were proposed as must have been

flattering and advantageous to him. In spite of all temptation, and solicitation to accept them, he remained firm and true to our cause. We own, that he had a claim to our assistance, according to the spirit of the subsisting engagements; but then. . . . .”

“ But what, Sir ?”

“ You now and then grumbled at the granting of subsidies, and we were afraid of offending you.”

“ Afraid ! Wherefore had I entrusted immense sums into your hands, if it were not that you should dispose of them to the best advantage ? Wherefore had I committed to you the management of my fleets and armies, if it were not that you should employ them against my enemies, and in assisting those who join my cause ? When did I ever grumble, when a substantial reason was given for the expenditure ? What is the use of money if it is not to be taken, when occasion requires, out of the coffers ? If you were irresolute, why did you not consult me ? Am I not rich enough, thank God and my own industry ! Did you think, that I prized money more than my character, and reputation of honesty ? How dared you to compromise them both for the sake of gold ? Am I to feed and starve upon it like Midas ? Who taught you, Sir, to talk of granting subsidies, as if doing that which ought to be done could be considered a favour ?”

“ I must stand now upon the ground of economy. You remember, Sir, our grand scheme of supplying the ways and means to wage eternal war without levying new taxes.”

“ I do remember it, indeed ; it was a mere puff ; it was a bubble, of a piece with all the rest of your contrivances. It was paying Peter by robbing Paul ; with this difference,—that both would be stripped at the end.”

“ I am sorry it had not met your approbation : nevertheless, it was an excellent scheme, and, had it been tried, it would have proved the *philosopher's stone*, which has been for so many ages the object of the wishes and rescarches of mankind. However, I mentioned it with no other view, than to shew merely, that, after such an instance of economy, we could not deviate from it in any respect whatever. Our master's good was foremost in our thoughts ; and granting . . . I beg pardon, . . . giving the money would have been detrimental to his interest. Suppose we had sent the Emperor five or six millions, a sum which would have enabled him to cope successfully with France, what should we gain by it ? Buonaparté might have been repelled, perhaps crushed ; at all events the Emperor of Russia would have been preserved to us.”

“ And is the advantage of checking Buonaparté, or the single circumstance of preserving alliance with Russia, to be estimated below

the sum which could have been so easily spared ?”

“ Those advantages may be very great, but they are nothing to those which would arise, in the course of years, from the employment of this sum at home. If invested in the funds, at the accumulating interest of five per cent., it would, in a century or so, pay off the whole of the national debt, and set the world at defiance.”

Here the orator stopped, perceiving some strange, and apparently not very favourable, symptoms, in the countenance of his master, who, after muttering something between his teeth, and throwing himself into various attitudes, as if the cushion under him was full of pins and needles, instead of horse-hair, raised his eyes to heaven in astonishment ; then, casting them on the orator, who did not seem to like their expression, he made a struggle to speak, and, succeeding, at length vociferated :—

“ Are you a fool, a madman, or a knave ? Will the worms that will have eaten me thank either of us for this signal piece of acquisition ? Am I to enjoy the benefit of your schemes only when I am rotten in the grave which you have dug for me ?——Hear me, you noisy mouth-piece of the noisy junto ! I have been, and am still, the son of industry. I am versed in the ways of the world, as far as honest means, and

and common sense, can be exercised. Suppose a neighbour of mine, who dealt with me for a series of years, to the great advantage of us both, came to me and said : “ *You must assist me with a hundred pounds ; for I am so critically situated, that, unless you lend me aid, I must sacrifice your interest, and break off all my dealings with you :* ” —what, think you, would I do in such a case ? As you possess none of those feelings which are inspired by friendship and generosity, and will not perhaps comprehend, that they alone would, as they ever did, prompt John Bull to assist his friend, I would reason and act upon your own principle of economy. I would calculate the advantages I derived from the intercourse with my friend, and if they greatly exceeded, as no doubt they would, the sum required, I would immediately advance it ; for, it is evident, that in doing so I should gain a considerable profit. If my concern with this man brought me a thousand pounds in a given time, I should just gain nine hundred by parting with one, and of course lose as much by saving it. You refused a moderate assistance to the Emperor, and thereby saved a certain sum ; but did you stop for a moment to calculate the loss which I should sustain by being deprived through it of all commerce with Russia ; the inconvenience to which it would put me ; and the enormous expense which the increase of enemies and the necessity of keeping pace with their accumulating means would render necessary—events, which your refusal could scarcely fail to produce ; you would have found, that you injured my interest

ten times more than might have been occasioned by the alienation of the sum in question. You have saved a penny, and lost a guinea. So much for your economy ! And then you have the modesty to calculate on the very consolatory prospect of the prodigious sum which this penny was to produce in a century or so ! Would not a guinea become as productive two hundred and fifty times sooner, that is, quite soon enough to be used while we are living ? So much for your speculation !

“ But this is not all. Were my situation, with regard to the Emperor, analogous only to the case of my neighbour as cited above, I would not be so uneasy, and might have forgiven, perhaps, the loss of a guinea caused by the saving of a penny ; but my relations with that monarch extended much further. He and I were partners in one concern, and not to assist him was on my part nothing less than a violation of duty. When two individuals enter into some speculative business, embark in it their capitals, and stipulate to exert themselves to the utmost for the promotion of the mutual good, and the attainment of the common object ; one is bound to assist another as long as he is able, and he cannot suspend his efforts, nor withdraw his means from the concern, without being guilty of a breach of good faith and a wilful infraction of his engagements. Both have agreed to stand together to the last ; both, therefore, must rise or fall together. Such was my con-



nexion with the Emperor. Yet you did not scruple most wantonly to tear it asunder."

"We are sorry, exceedingly sorry, that things have taken so unfavourable a turn ; but, really, no blame can reasonably be attached to us. Our object was to spare your money as much as possible ; that, by being able to say, " Master, behold your coffers full," we might convince you how well we were qualified to keep our places for life. Before an object of such importance, what was the Continent to us ? We left it to its fate ; the more so as it was not in the power of man to foresee what has happened. We did not think, we never thought even of thinking, that the Emperor of Russia would make peace with France. The moment that Buonaparte came in contact with Russia, so near, at least, as to threaten her territories, we justly concluded, that she had to fight for her own preservation, and that, consequently, she would be forced to exert herself without our assistance. As long as they met only abroad, it was a good system to feed their animosity by a handful of guineas thrown among them occasionally ; but, when a collision took place between them, in such a manner, that, instead of scratching each other, they set to fighting in good earnest, our object was attained, and there was no occasion to pay them for fighting, when we were sure they would do it gratis. *Russia brought the war to her own door, and there she must defend herself.* This was our maxim."

“ A most diabolical one ! To assist a friend that he may fight for us, and then forsake him, when, by his sacrifices for our sake, he has reduced himself to the necessity of defending his own existence ! It is villainous ! From whom did you borrow this nefarious piece of sophistry ? ”

“ I might say, perhaps, from the much-admired politics of Machiavel, or from the profound philosophy of Godwin ; but the fact is, that we were taught in the school of experience where the first lesson was given to us by the fox, which, by setting the lion and tyger a fighting, often conveys into his stomach a handsome portion of their prey. It cannot be denied, that our reasonings and conclusions, derived from so much experience, have proved erroneous ; but, it is clear as daylight, and can be mathematically demonstrated, that they ought to have been true. For, it must be owing to nothing less than a miracle, that after such cruel blows, such bloody conflicts, such deadly strife, and such mortal struggles, which promised to end only with the death of one of the parties, these very parties should, all at once, put an end to the dire contention, forget the smarting of their wounds, and embrace each other on the raft as if nothing had happened. Now, I ask, who would have expected so unnatural an union ? ”

“ Every body, except yourselves. Their union was perfectly natural, and the only riddle that remains to be, but, I fear, never can

be, unravelled, is your own conduct. You listened to your Machiavels and Godwins, who may be very great men for aught I know ; yet, you never followed the much surer advice of common sense and honesty. Had you for once consulted them, they would have told you neither more nor less, than that a wronged friend seldom fails to turn an enemy ; aye, the most bitter of enemies ; that people, one time or other, must be tired of fighting, and, therefore, will give it up ; that when a rogue sets two parties by the ears, they both will league against him, as soon as his duplicity is detected ; or, to come more to the point, when a man is abandoned by those in whose cause he fought, relying principally on their assistance, he must, by the natural course of things, join their enemies."

" But, Sir, next to the object of ensuring our places for life, we were actuated by the purest motives of regard and tenderness for your coffers, which have already been so much impoverished by subsidies."

" It is a lie ! I have, even now, more money than your silly pate can reckon ; but if my coffers were impoverished, would you make them quite empty, by refusing to pay for the preservation of what remains in them ? But you wander from the point, Sir, and drive the question back to economy. I will have no more of economy !"

“ Then we must proceed, dear master, to the third ground of defence,—*policy*. Has Pitt ever benefited his country by giving subsidies ? Have his coalitions ever succeeded ? ”

“ Hold, Sir ! Disturb not the ashes of that man ; for in those very ashes there is yet more substance than in all your heads put together. John Bull was ever generous and just ; and it shall never be said, that he judged men only by their misfortune. No, Sir ! I know well, that, when two parties are contending, one or the other must be foiled, though neither may have committed any material error. Remember, Sir, that the responsibility of Pitt, as far as relates to warfare, extended no further than the formation of project. Alas ! to my own regret, and to the sorrow of Europe, the execution of his projects was not in his hands ! It was in the hands which he had no alternative but to employ. He could not appoint generals in a foreign army, or direct its operations. His functions were those of a minister at home, and his influence abroad was that of genius and character : by these alone his weight was felt and acknowledged on the Continent, whose councils, beyond that, he had no power to command.

“ If you wish, Sir, for once to be impartial, and just to his memory, look to his plans and combinations ; and for their failure blame fortune that forced him to leave their execution to those who were independent on him. Trace

him through the maze of difficulties in which he was involved ! Follow him through all those disastrous events, which, like a sudden earthquake, overturned the mighty fabrics of his mind ! With what energy he recovered from his defeats ! How rapidly his genius, as one barrier was born down, raised another and another still stronger ! How, Phoenix-like, he arose from his own ashes, till envious fate doomed him at length to rise no more ! Yet he left the materials from which the last and the strongest bulwark might have been erected. Buonaparté, far from home, had to contend no longer with coalitions, which were dispersed before him, like chaff before a sweeping whirlwind ; but with men who were all nursed in the bosom of the same country, and who never yet flinched from an enemy. It was no longer a happy manœuvre, or dexterity in sowing discord that could obtain victory ; but a dreadful conflict, arm to arm, breast to breast, and foot to foot. Brave, but unfortunate, Russians ! Pultusk, Eylau, Heilsburgh, and Friedland, will stand the everlasting monuments of your prowess ! They shall proclaim to distant ages the courage with which you have fulfilled your duty, and justified the expectation you raised ! Had your friends done half as much, your success might have been complete ; but, alas ! Pitt was no more ! Heaven did not permit him to preside at this last havock of fate, which for once threatened the downfall of the modern Colossus ! You were deserted at the very moment when honour, interest, and hope that

smiled for the first time on the suffering nation, imperiously demanded the assistance which was cruelly withheld from you!— Oh! let me not think of it! I shall weep like a child, or go mad with sorrow. Having aided in destroying the solid work which Pitt had bequeathed to his country, and, in disgracing, perhaps, ruining me, how dare you, Sir, to name that man in my presence, and not fear your annihilation from the contrast?

“ He was the man of his word, the man of honour, the man after my heart. No solemn treaty was so binding, or so inviolable, as the single affirmative pronounced by his mouth. Of the oppressed nations he was the rallying standard, and the pillar of support. What he said, the world believed; for he never deceived the world. When he passed his promise, he would sooner have lost by fulfilling, than have gained by breaking it. It is thus, that John Bull would wish always to act.

“ Pitt would have assisted the Emperor, were it only from the motive of generosity; but how much more, when interest and honour combined in exacting the aid? In the circumstances existing at the time, he would have considered subsidy not as a favour, but as an act which I was bound to perform, and as a contribution, to which, as it had one common object, the Emperor had a just claim; so just, in fact, that the mere reducing him to the necessity of soliciting it, is a disgrace which ought

to have been prevented. You will say, perhaps, that he took arms in his own cause, and will produce his former declaration in support of the assertion ; but I say, Sir, it is no such thing. A man, who, at the advice of his friends and from their promise of support, becomes an ostensible conductor of some hazardous undertaking, needs not, and often cannot, consistently with prudence, state publicly who are those friends, what are their views, and how far he is engaged to serve them, and they to support him ; and this is exactly the case of the Emperor with regard to myself. I shall ever reflect with pain, that he would not have engaged in so gigantic a contest, had he not relied on my assistance. You will say again in reply, that, as there was no clause to specify what sort of assistance was to be afforded and to what extent, he could have no claim on me ; but, Sir, I am not dealing here in quibbles, and law subterfuges.—Law can transfer the advantage of right to wrong, but it never can replace the nature of one by the nature of the other.—I am an honest man, Sir ; and wish to act up to the spirit and not to the letter of an agreement, which, whether written, or verbal, ought to be equally respected. Honesty, Sir, is the surest passport through the world. I have endeavoured to fulfil its dictates to the best of my abilities, and have laboured, for years, to acquire and preserve the character of a fair-dealing man ; can, then, any thing justify your despoiling me of the fruit of my labours ?”

“ Yes, my dear master, policy can. I am sure, when you have heard all, you will be pleased with our conduct.

“ We wished to build upon solid ground, and would risk nothing by speculation. In consequence of this laudable resolution, as soon as Russia, menaced by France, applied to us for succour, we collected all the gipseys in the kingdom, and laying the case before their most celebrated fortune-tellers, obtained every information that was necessary to direct our judgment how far it was politic to assist her. The next thing we did, was to consult a conjurer’s book upon some portending dreams which visited me and some of my colleagues. The explanation was dreadful, and the more so as it exactly coincided with the opinion of the fortune-tellers. It pointed, unequivocally, that the genius of Buonaparté would carry all before him, that nothing could oppose his progress, and that he was made invincible by a power superior to human. In this state of just alarm, we bought up all the prophecies which have inundated London, and the object of which was to prove that the existence of the great Napoleon, was predicted and characterized several thousand years back, and that he is to figure in this world on a still greater scale: there we saw, as clear as we could see, that he, Napoleon, is the identical *antichrist* destined to subdue the nations.

“ After such conviction, it was plain, that no assistance could be useful to Russia, or



to any other power contending with him; we, therefore, wisely abstained from giving it. True, that our conviction was thrown back into belief, and our calculations, formed with such accuracy upon the authority of the fortune-tellers, the dream-interpreter, and the prophecies, were rather deranged by the battle of Pultusk; but we dreamed on, consulted afresh, plunged into a new train of visions, and became again convinced. The battle of Eylau gave our creed rather too violent a shock; but we dreamed again—and all was well!

“ Though no assistance of ours could be of service to Russia, yet, as we were bound in some measure to give it, while by the same *dreams and conviction*, we expected to fall ourselves, and be, consequently, not in a situation to enjoy our savings, we felt at times that it would be as well to perform our duty and go out of the world like honest men: I own frankly that all this was felt by us; but then another cause intervened, and rendered our good wishes ineffectual. In order to send expeditions, or carry on any operations in favour of Russia, it was necessary to have every thing prepared against winter. For the purpose of ascertaining how far the season, by favouring our measures, might encourage our co-operation, or, by impeding them, justify our inactivity, we had recourse to Moore’s Almanack. The book which predicted so exactly, except a trifling mistake of a month or two, the death of Sultan Selim, we could not but consider in-

fallible ; and, though a similar prediction might, with the same chance of success, be hazarded of any Turkish Sovereign, we did not hesitate to abide by such *unquestionable* authority. It was from this source of foreknowledge that we drew our instructions, and by obvious analogies and inference, persuaded ourselves, that the approaching winter would be severe beyond all precedent ; that the Baltic would be frozen to the very bottom ; and that it would be impossible for us to do any good on the Continent. It turned out, to our disappointment, that the winter, instead of being severe, was milder than any within the memory of the oldest inhabitants of those parts ; and that the Baltic had not so much ice upon its surface, as could bear up a mouse ; but then, as we made no preparations beforehand, we could not profit by these favourable circumstances ; besides, Moore's authority was paramount to all, and such was our confidence in the prophetic lore of almanacks, that we *reasonably* concluded, that since the winter was mild *when it came*, it would be severe *when it was gone*, for, the frost that was to congeal the breath of man *an inch from his mouth* would certainly come in summer, if not in the spring. The consequence of this was, that Dantzic, the fall of which turned the scale of war so much to the disadvantage of our ally, was lost, though we might have taken and kept it, being aware that Russia, relying upon our navy, and having moreover sent her ships fit for service to the Mediterranean, had no force in readiness to protect it by sea. We were not

ignorant, that the preservation of this important place might have prevented the defeat of Friedland, at least, prolonged the event of battle until the Russians had collected their reinforcements, and received all the necessary supplies of provision and ammunition, the want of which, on account of the badness of roads, and suddenness of the occasion, severely distressed them,—circumstances, from which every thing might have been expected; but then we had no transports provided to convey troops to Dantzic, and, consequently, were forced to remain inactive. As to making any preparation at the time, we had a much better opinion of almanacks, than to venture, contrary to their advice, on sending, at some future period, ships to the port of Dantzic with the certainty of having them encompassed there with ice, perhaps, in the month of *July* or *August*, and detained till another winter, which might not be quite so mild and favourable. To these unanswerable reasons we may add another, which cannot fail of having its due weight in the mind of every man, who is tenacious of his dignity.

“ The Emperor of Russia has failed in his respect to us, by not shewing the least faith in our choice of men. A military gentleman, young in years, but old in practice, was sent by us, after he had been with the king of Prussia to no purpose, to advise the Emperor how to direct his armies: in truth, we expected that in compliment to our discernment,

Alexander could do no less than appoint our favourite Commander in Chief of all the Russian forces; yet nothing of the kind was done, and from the invective, and a little wilful dark colouring, with which abounded the unfavourable accounts, transmitted to us by our indignant elect, of the Russian commanders and soldiers, it was plain that no deference was paid to his opinion; and, that his advice, which alone, if we thought it possible, could have arrested the career of the fate-born Napoleon, was slighted. An insult of this nature we did not expect from the Emperor; nor were we prepared for another which is still more glaring. Report says that, our ambassador at St. Petersburg, whom we alone had the sagacity to appoint, had his tail cut off on a public parade! Report may be false, but the aggression is such that all England ought to rise in arms to avenge it!!!

“ Combining all these causes together, it is impossible not to be convinced, that our conduct instead of being blamed, deserves the highest praise; for, after all we did something.”

“ Ay, there is the rub.” “ This something is much worse than nothing.”

“ The Emperor unjustly complains of our having made no diversions in his favour. Have we not sent an expedition to Egypt? Though it failed through some little inadvertency on our part; yet, to all intent and purpose, it was a

most glorious expedition. Certainly, it could have had no more effect upon the state of affairs in Poland, than the pricking of a needle would have upon the rock of Gibraltar; but then the paring of a giant's nails, or blowing upon a lion at a distance, is already doing a great deal. Add to this, that Egypt is a *delightful* country, and though of *no benefit* to Russia, it would be of great *use* to us; and the Emperor ought not to grumble.

“ Our expedition to the Dardanelles was also a diversion, and a *powerful* diversion in his favour. It bore the genuine stamp of its authors; for, like the first, it was unsuccessful, yet glorious. What achievements! The world heard with wonder, that we passed the Dardanelles. It was great! It was heroic!—But we did more :---we *repassed* the Dardanelles! Undoubtedly, there was a little oversight in the business. We did not listen to Mr. Eton's advice how to approach Constantinople from another position which would have left it at our mercy, and forced Turkey to make one less in the list of the enemies of Alexander, who would thereby have received a considerable accession of force in Poland; that is, he would have had a greater force to apply to the principal root of mischief; it also slipped our memory to send land forces to take the batteries, which would have enabled our admiral to keep his position before the Turkish capital, until such time as the wind had permitted him to carry his threats into execution; nor did we recommend a junction with the

Russian fleet, which had transports and men in Corfu to supply our deficiency of land forces, for the reason that it would be doing the Russians too great an honour ; yet we have incurred no blame, and such things are too trifling to subject us to any responsibility. The grand result of the expedition was, that we revived the energy of the Turks ; roused their courage ; forced them to adopt more ample means of defence ; united them more closely with France ; alienated them from ourselves ; caused them to feel their own importance ; made the Dardanelles impassable ; lost an opportunity for another equally momentous expedition ; and instead of helping Russia, obtained for her a more determined and more formidable enemy ; but what is all this ? A mere nothing ; and the Emperor ought to be satisfied.

“ With regard to the affair of Buenos Ayres, it is astonishing that Alexander should complain of it. We cannot disguise, that, our expeditions having proved rather more flashy than successful, we heard with pleasure, that one turned out well in every respect, and was likely to stamp the period of our power with greatness ; but this pleasure was destroyed by the consciousness, that another was the author of the expedition, and that another, of all beings in the world, was Sir Home Popham. What was to be done ? Like sane politicians, we were willing enough to appropriate the advantages that might arise from the successful issue of this business ; but we were still more de-

sirous of convincing Sir Home, that he was by no means an object agreeable in our eyes. We delayed, as long as we could, sending him the succours which would have enabled him to keep the possession of Buenos Ayres ; and when the intelligence arrived of the place being retaken by the enemy, which explains partly the object of our delay, we felt nothing but joy at his disappointment. We hastened to revoke the sanction we had given to the affair, for we had done so merely to flatter the public, caused him to be brought home like a prisoner, and, out of pure *generosity*, had him tried, for having, without orders, made an attempt which we could not blame with decency while he was successful, but would by no means overlook when he failed, under the aggravating circumstance that he did not fail sooner. We reasoned so far *liberally*, that to screen our neglect by his disgrace was but justice to ourselves. To sum the whole :—we made it impossible for that expedition to prove ultimately successful, because we were not the projectors of it ; because we would not suffer any exploit to eclipse our own ; and because, with the unexampled sacrifice of all *personal* feelings, we would rather forego a considerable national benefit than omit the opportunity of mortifying the man to whom we owed a grudge on the old score. Now, what can the Autocrat of Russia see in all this, but what, instead of being an object of complaint, ought to excite his gratitude towards us ? When we sent a certain General to repair the disaster, could the Emperor, or

could any reasonable being, from the choice we made, suppose for a moment, that we had any serious intention of succeeding? This charge, therefore, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, falls to the ground ; and he has no more reason to accuse us of selfishness, or want of co-operation, than has Buonaparté to tax us with any offensive interference in his political arrangements, or any presumptuous effort to oppose the rapid progress of his arms."

John Bull, agitated by various contending passions, which chased each other in turn, and prevented any one from bursting through his mouth, sat speechless like a statue, which circumstance may well account for his seeming patience in hearing the orator; who, thinking the symptom favourable, went on without interruption, and with increasing assurance, while triumph sparkled in his eyes, and an additional eloquence heightened his speech :

" But why should we be accused as the authors of the rupture with Russia? When we speak of a building, we comprise in one idea the wings, the avenues that lead to it, and also the back premises adjoining it; yet, by entering any of the wings or avenues, we cannot be said to have entered the building, as, to do that, we must be in the interior, which contains the family, and forms the principal character of the building; nor can we be supposed to have come within it, when we are in the back premises, which is only entering it at the opposite end.



This reasoning will, by comparison, apply with great justness to a speech. The beginning leads only to its interior, and the conclusion takes us out by a back passage. Whosoever stands upon the *first* stands upon nothing; and whosoever lays hold of the *last* lays hold of an eel by the tail, which, with the head and carcase, will slip through his hands. It follows, then, that, as the essence of fruit is in its core, and as the substance of a solid body is in its centre, so the essence and substance of the Imperial Declaration must be in its middle; consequently it is there, and there only, that our accusers must look for the support of the charges they bring against us. Let us then examine the nature and purport of the allegation contained in the middle of the declaration."

Here the orator produced the declaration, and in a tone of exultation read aloud:

*" Her (England's) fleet and troops appeared on the Coast of Denmark, to commit a violence like which it is difficult to find any thing in history, so fruitful in examples."*

*" A tranquil kingdom, which stood in the list of monarchical governments, and, by the long and inflexible moderation of its principles, had acquired moral consideration, beheld itself, on a sudden, attacked by the English forces, under the feigned pretext that it was conspiring and forming secret plots for the destruction of England—under the pretext, invented only for the*

*purpose of justifying its rapid and complete spoliation. At this instance of violence committed on the Baltic, which is an inclosed sea, and the tranquillity of which has been, from a remote time, and with the consent of the Cabinet of St. James's, secured by a mutual guarantee of the neighbouring maritime powers, his Majesty, insulted in his dignity, injured in the interest of his people, and in his relations with those powers, did not conceal his displeasure, and ordered to inform the English Ministry, that he could not behold such an act of aggression with indifference."*

“ Mark, dear Master ! The English Ministry ! He does not mean us. Our hands are clean from this affair :—but of this hereafter.”

John Bull, recovering from the anarchy of passions, appeared now to listen in good earnest.

“ *His Majesty did not expect, that England, profiting by the success of her arms, would, when the very time of carrying away her spoils was approaching, meditate to bring a new degradation on Denmark, and to make Russia participate in her injustice.*

“ *Novel and most insidious proposals were made, to the end, that Denmark, by placing herself in the situation of a conquered and degraded country, and by sanctioning all the events that befell her, might be completely enthralled in the vices of England. His Imperial Majesty still less ex-*

*pected that it was he to whom it would be proposed to secure, by guarantee, the conquest of Denmark, to give assurances that from such proceeding of violence nothing detrimental shall result to the interests of England, and to become the defender of the action, which has so publicly excited his indignation.*

*“ The Emperor of all the Russias could not listen to these proposals, and conceived that it was high time to put an end to his forbearance.”*

“ Here, then, closes the middle ; and all the charges are brought to a single point : for the Emperor declares, expressly and positively, that the violence committed on Denmark is the sole, at least the principal, cause of his withdrawing himself from our friendship, and espousing the interest of our enemies. In truth, this cannot be otherwise. The Emperor, as protector of the Baltic, and guarantee of its security, as well as of the integrity of the northern powers, could not overlook such indignity ; but, in justice to his character, to the interests of his people, and to the nature of his relations with those powers, he was bound to resent and to punish the aggression, which admits not of the slightest palliation, and the infamy of which cannot be compensated by the most gigantic advantages that may arise from it ; the aggression, which struck at the remnant of good faith that still lingered among the nations, and exhibited an example of cruelty, which, if followed, would replunge the world into the chaos

of the lawless proceedings, barbarous wars, assassination, and murder, which characterised the dark ages, and the suspension of which is the only eminent advantage gained by civilization. It was an act of piracy, exceeding in offence every magnitude of plunder; and it, therefore, justly provoked the abhorrence and execrations of mankind. Madness could only have dictated it. And it is the men who dared to commit such a deed of atrocity, that must alone be responsible for the miseries of a new war in which it has involved us. It is they that must answer for the disgrace it has heaped on us, which must weigh heavier on the country than even the burthen of the war."

John Bull appeared thoughtful. "I see," he pronounced significantly, "that you can speak to the purpose when truth is on your side."——He paused,—and perhaps would have spoken again, were it not for the sudden trance of the orator, who, in the extacy of feeling, exclaimed, with a vehemence of voice and extravagance of gesture, that excited considerable apprehension for the state of his reason :

"Grotius! Puffendorff! and all ye host of immortal shades! who, from the recess of your noble pursuits, dictated laws to nations by a stroke of the pen and by the artillery of the head, which discharged its contents into all the corners of the world! Ye Geniuses of blessed memory! the effluvia of whose brain, like

exhalations of the earth, wandering in various shapes of meteors, or like the more sublime ejections of the sun, traversing the vast expanse in the blazing form of comets, more rapid than lightning, and hotter than the conflagration which is to consume the world ! Ye, the stars which guided mankind, the unerring light which illumined their understanding ! Arise now ! Hear me, and arise to avenge the sacrilegious, the daring act, which has destroyed your glorious works ! Strike, oh ! strike the offenders with your bolts of quills and paper ; nor cease tormenting them, until they have been blotted all over with ink ; until they have been blinded with snuff ; their mouth filled with lamp oil, their stomach crammed with penknives, and until they have expired under your dreadful anathemas and fulminations !”

Here the orator fell prostrate on the floor, and John Bull, not knowing whether to give vent to the feeling of compassion, or to exercise his risible faculties, waited in suspense until the orator arose, and then having recommended silence as a remedy to compose the spirits of this hot-headed enthusiast, he turned to his right side, and addressed the other half of his servants :—

“ My friends, it is your turn now. This Copenhagen frolic is an ugly business, and I expect to have it explained. But first you must help me to understand what that madman (pointing to the orator) meant by his last jargon. “ There was a method in his madness ;” and

as I am but a plain man, not much given to learning, and, moreover, paying my servants for being so, I desire to be informed what are these Grotiuses, Puffendorffs, immortal shades, geniuses, meteors, exhalations, ejections, and all the other sublime things which seem to have turned his head ?”

A gentleman that stood opposite the orator, remarkable for being a neat and elegant scholar, stepped forward, and, in the name of his party, replied :

“ Grotius, Puffendorff, with many others, our kind master, were the personages who framed the laws of nations ; that is, those principles which tend to increase the happiness of nations, and the pleasure of their intercourse with each other.”

“ Indeed ! It is surprising that I should know so little of them, particularly as they must have been kings of kings, and sovereigns of sovereigns, to be able to prescribe laws, not only to their own people, but to other nations.”

“ They were no kings, Sir. They were not so elevated, perhaps, as some of your own servants.”

“ How, and where, did they live ?”

“ Some had their own houses, some lived in first-floors, some in garrets, and some in jail ;

but this matters not, as one can write any where, provided he has capital enough to furnish himself with the materials for writing."

" You astonish me ! In such circumstances of insignificance, how could they impose their commands upon the world ?"

" That is another question, Sir. It is easy to talk of laws, but to make them obeyed is a very different task. Bound by oath to conceal nothing from you, not even my thoughts ; and to speak nothing before you, Sir, but what in my own conviction amounts to truth ; I shall now freely and boldly disclose my sentiments upon the laws of nations :

" Were it possible to have them obeyed, the social state of the human race would be much improved by their salutary sway. But as it is, I am sorry to say, they exist only in books and in the imagination of individuals, well disposed, but strangers to the ways of the world. They resemble in every respect a title without estate, being an inheritance of words and not of substance. They furnish many an excellent maxim ; but the men who bequeathed them to the world, unfortunately had no power to bestow, by which those maxims might be enforced. Of what use would be laws in society if there were no power to punish the first individual that dares to transgress them ? *Power* is the ground, on which stand all nations ; but that power is vested in themselves : or, in

other words, a nation is her own mistress ; and has no one to compel her to an account of her actions, unless there be another nation equally powerful, and in condition to controul her. Were all nations under the sway of one man, they would become, like so many individuals in society, subject to one superior power, which would exact from them obedience to the laws ; but, as long as they remain independent, they are in the state of a savage, who knows no master, no law, but his will, as long as the fear of a stronger adversary does not check him. A man of this sort, whenever hunger or any other call impels him, will never hesitate to attack another, whose spoliation could supply his wants, unless the latter be stronger, at least equally strong, and as determined to retain, as the other to seize. In all such instances, it is evident that the question between them is not that of right (unless right be power) ; but of superior prowess.

“ To extend this comparison further, we will suppose a horde of savages living at certain distances from each other : if they be all equally strong, that is, capable of defending themselves, they will respect each other, and every one will abstain from committing depredation on his neighbour ; in other words, they will do that from necessity, which we expect, alas ! in vain, from principle ; but the moment that any one of them gets start of the rest, either by means of some natural or artificial advantage, so as to set them all at defiance, the common



state of independence and tranquillity is immediately destroyed, and some are driven away from their habitations, while others are forced into the yoke of bondage, or swallowed up in ruin. Lions and tigers, living in numbers, would observe towards each other the same degree of forbearance, as long as they could not become aggressors with impunity; but this forbearance would not be owing to principle. So it is with nations.

“ If there be a balance of power between them, (by which I do not understand an equal division of power, but a sufficiency of means for self-defence, which the weakest nations obtain either by uniting together for their mutual protection, resembling therein a republic, or by depending on more powerful neighbours who find it their interest to protect them in the same manner as the feudal barons protected weaker families) the laws of nations will be observed: that is, whether there were such laws or not, the advantages held out by them will be effectually enjoyed. The fear of each other creates the necessity of forbearance; that necessity becomes law, and this law is the actual power by which it secures, as if it were, its own existence and enforces its own advantages.— This is the state in which alone the laws of nations can be observed; for, whenever they were so, it was always when power, as far as relates to the internal or external means of defence, was equally divided among the nations. Indeed, it is the state in which the spirit of the

laws, with all its concomitant blessings, does actually exist, and is observed with rigid exactness, though there be not a single word mentioned, or the slightest idea introduced, of the laws themselves.

“ To come to a more concise definition, the existence of the laws of nations is the result of power, or rather the power itself by which one nation counteracts another. Take away the means of counteraction, that is destroy the power, and the laws are no more. The strongest nation will prey upon the weakest, with this lamentable difference, that, in a savage state, the party which gets uppermost, having fewer wants, commits fewer aggressions, and being under the immediate influence of nature, is oftener deterred from violence by a feeling of pity, or an innate sense of justice ; whereas, in civilised states, wants being endless, aggressions are the same, and every thing being governed by interest, the feelings of nature are never suffered to plead in behalf of the sufferer. It is then that the laws of nations, diverted from their original intention, become tools in the hands of the powerful aggressor, who preys upon the helpless with those very laws in his mouth which were meant to protect them ; and, like the sanctified hypocrite safe under the cloke of religion, plunges into every species of enormity. The very clauses which were to insure the welfare, and guarantee the security of nations, are handled in the defence of their oppression ; and each word, each rule laid down

for ascertaining their rights and preserving their happiness, is made to furnish a new pretext and a new plea for invading those rights and destroying that happiness : so that, by a mere turn of power, the laws are converted into multifarious scourges of mankind. What is there in nature, that the power, which prevails, cannot justify upon the very ground of the laws of nations?

“ Ask Buonaparté, why he has buried kingdoms in the political grave, and he will say, for the security of his own empire. Ask him why he has seized the Duke d’Enghien, and caused him to be executed so contrary to the established laws of nations : and he will say, the laws of nations justify the seizure and punishment of any individual, who conspires against the existing government. Ask him, why he has dragged an accredited agent of government to prison, and from a place, which, independently of his character, ought to have protected him, and he will say : An ambassador ceases to be such, the moment he condescends to the employment of a spy or a conspirator, whose punishment, be it death, is justified by the laws. Why has he dismembered Prussia? By the right of conquest. Why has he detained Englishmen as prisoners? By the right of retaliation. In fact, he may say the moon is an apple, and the sun a cricket ball, and the laws of nations will immediately be applied to prove the truth of the assertion.”

“ I am not sufficiently expert in sophistry

to combat your reasoning; though something whispers me that you are wrong. All that you have said runs smoothly and appears plausible; yet common sense, and conviction of some obligation independent of power, command me to reject your doctrine."

"Far be it from me to assert, that there is no principle higher than power, by which our actions ought to be regulated. I feel within me a sense of moral obligation, which, whether supported or opposed by power, will always, I hope, sway my conduct; but the grand error, in which all philosophers, commentators on the laws, and mankind in general have fallen, is, that they reason upon what ought to be, and not what actually is. They cling to theory, and bestow scarcely a thought upon practice. They proclaim that the laws of nations ought to be observed:—granted. But are they observed? And can they be observed, without bringing with them a power that can make them so? It were well if these two questions were not wholly left out of consideration."

"But surely, Nature herself has implanted within us the degree of power which is necessary to make us respect and obey the dictates of virtue."

"This applies with justice to an individual, but not to a nation; inasmuch as the former is the offspring of Nature, and never out of her controul, while the latter is the work of art, in

which every thing is and must be upheld by the power which has formed it, and without whose action it would fall to ruin. It is a machine, in which no wheel can be placed so as to perform its office, without the application of the commensurate force to produce and regulate its motion."

"I cannot reply to this in the manner I would wish; but it strikes me, that the universal rule, "*Do by others as you would be done by,*" may as well apply to nations as to individuals."

"And yet, my dear master, you act often towards others, in the manner in which you would allow no one to act towards yourself."

John Bull stared.

"Think of your maritime rights!—Would you permit any one to exercise them against you in your own fashion?"

John Bull rubbed his head.

"You call those rights just, and swear never to relinquish them. Now, according to the principle of moral equity, they are downright usurpations, and are just, only because you have the power to retain them. Were they in possession of another, that is, had any one else the power to enforce them against you, he would do it with equal justice; so that, whether they be in your favour or otherwise, the

laws of actions would justify them; which proves again, that without power there are no laws, and that power is the main support of a political body, or rather, that a certain modification of power is the body itself, in whose system of organization the laws perform the office of all those interior parts, which serve either to strengthen and preserve its constitution, or convey nourishment to the heart.

“ Whatever difference there may be in appearance between power and laws, they cannot be separated, nor be made to act in opposition to each other, unless they are lodged in two distinct bodies. You may as well expect, that the stream of a large river will go against the main current, without the action of another distinct force to drive that current back; or that the branches of a tree will conspire against the trunk, and pull it down without being impelled by the exterior and independent action of the wind. In short, my dear master, your *rights* are your *power*; the ground on which they are justified are *laws*:—and what are laws?—*power*. So that, compound the mixture as you please, it will, upon analysis, prove to be power, and nothing but power.”

“ In a case like this, a certain exemption, or latitude ought to be made on *the principle*, inseparable from human nature, of *self preservation*.”

“ It is this very principle that is made the

source of all public mischief: for, as the laws have sanctioned it, the nations, which have no power placed elsewhere to restrain them, will, like individuals in society who, were it not for a superior power that checks them, would justify every extravagance of passion on the principle of self-preservation, commit every political crime by which they may hope to gain something, and justify it on the same principle. For instance, nothing can be more easy than to justify upon this principle the violence committed on Denmark."

" I am glad you are arrived at the business which comes nearer to the point, and is likely to be more intelligible. You have led me through a maze of reasoning in which I confess, I was bewildered, but would not willingly enter it again, notwithstanding I came out as I went in, without altering one jot of my long cherished opinions. What is right, will always be right, nor can all the abuse of power make it otherwise, or force a truly virtuous man to deviate from it. But, to the business, Sir! This Denmark expedition is a thorn which teazes me by day and by night."

Here John Bull, after adjusting his elbows with the air of a man who feels himself at home and at ease with his conscience, appeared to listen with attention while his servant proceeded :

" We might urge then, on the principle

of self-preservation, that, from certain information, we looked upon Denmark as an enemy virtually if not nominally declared; as an enemy, who, though the unwilling tool in the hands of another, was not the less dangerous. However, should our veracity, or our source of intelligence be doubted, we might appeal to the melancholy certainty, that Denmark would be invited to act against us; that this invitation would be a command which, even according to her own declaration on a former occasion, she had not power to resist or disobey; and that her ships would be employed for our destruction, which being the obvious and the nearest means of mischief, we were bound to remove them, while we had time and opportunity.

“ We might cut the matter short, and state, consistently with the sentiments I have already expressed, that as we knew no laws of nations in practice but power, and as our enemy not only knew this likewise, but in all his actions has always been consulting only the extent of his means, we, having in our turn a sufficiency of power, might employ it without any regard to justice; but, though such is the practice of nations, we did not wish to justify ourselves by the example of others, and would rather have acted, if we could, not as the practice is but as it ought to be. We would have most willingly dispensed with the exercise of power on this occasion; but we were forced to it by the events resulting from a previous policy



that hatched and brought forth the mischief, which we came too late to repair. We deprecated the measure; we held it in detestation; we thought it a most flagrant violation of every moral principle and a glaring insult and injury to the Emperor; we felt that he could not do otherwise than make it the most ostensible ground of complaint, and that he could never be too severe in condemning it; but the unpardonable fault of others compelled us to adopt it in spite of all reluctance. In examining the Emperor's declaration, we cannot but own that justice is on his side; and we would plead guilty, had we participated in the previous causes which produced the facts contained in it, and that train of unpropitious circumstances which made us act against our own approbation and inward conviction of right. We had a positive knowledge, that fire was lurking in the house of our next neighbour, and we broke into the house, removed the furniture, and violated the rights of a citizen and friend, because he either would not or could not extinguish the fire, which, no matter whether with his permission or not, had been kindled there for our destruction: we had no alternative but to act as we did, and the blame must fall, not upon us, but on the men who kindled it, or, if these are out of reach, upon those who being attached to our own cause and bound in duty and honour to serve it, had, either by their neglect or a more criminal motive, given an opportunity to the fire being kindled.

"These are the men upon whom justice ought to pass her sentence."

"Who, and where are they? I fear that between the two parties, I shall never find the real offender."

"This is easier perhaps, than you think, Sir. They are the men, who forced the Emperor to make the peace of Tilsit which ruined our beneficial schemes in their embryo, and roused that spirit of hostility which breathe, in the Imperial declaration, and which we were not in time to suppress. They are the men from whom we were obliged to take affairs as they were, and not as we wished them to be. They are the men who, instead of friends whom we came to assist, left us enemies whom we found ourselves under the imperious necessity to resist, to annoy, and to anticipate. They are the men who now stand before you. I will point them with my finger. I will accuse them in the face of their master, in the face of the world; and, by their own mode of reasoning, will prove them guilty."

"No reasoning, Sir! Produce me facts; —facts, Sir!"

"You shall have them. But first I beg you indulgence to make a short introduction by way of reply to what has fallen from the gentleman opposite to me. As he has been very ingenious in arranging substances of things,

buildings, avenues, back premises, *et cet*, I will meet him on his own ground.

“ An *action* cannot be separated from the *cause* that precedes it, and the *result* which follows it. Nature has arranged them in this order, and they never can deviate from it, nor change their places. *Words*, which are only *interpreters* of actions, are placed in the same order; and, when a complete *subject* is described, they form a speech, the beginning of which must necessarily refer to the cause, the middle to the substance, and the conclusion to the result of the action. As the cause is parent of the action, so it is the principal subject of animadversion. From applying this to the Imperial declaration, it will be evident that its first part contains the cause or causes of all the subsequent transactions, and discovers the real motives which actuated the Emperor in declaring against this country; a step which, being only one of the effects in whose birth concurred the same causes that had created a previous disposition to rupture, he would have taken, though the expedition to Denmark were never attempted, nor even conceived in imagination. This point being settled, it remains to inquire by whose agency those causes were produced whose operation proved so efficient, and fruitful in mischief; and here the facts shall speak for themselves.\*

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\* What follows is chiefly extracted from an anonymous pamphlet, entitled “ A Key to the recent Conduct of the Em-

“ It was not necessity that made the Emperor of Russia conclude that peace with France, which could be considered only as a pledge of his enmity towards us, and a certain precursor of the present war. The influence of Napoleon, prevailing now at the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and particularly the manner in which it prevails, and in which it is exercised, plainly shew, that the change in the politics of that court is the change of sentiments and principles; it is the result of will and conviction, however short this conviction may be, and not of any command imposed by a foreign power; for, as yet, there exists not such as to be in condition to dictate to Russia, or direct her councils by any other means than a reciprocalness of interest, however fugitive may be its nature, and delusive the form in which it appears.

“ Russia has lost nothing in the late war. Her resources are not impaired or diminished to the degree of making her, against her will, the active instrument of the French Emperor. Her armies retired from the contest unbroken, and fully compensated for their losses by those of the enemy, which kept pace with theirs. They retreated like lions, and the consciousness, that,

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peror of Russia,” which the French papers attributed to the present administration. It is an obscure production; but as it states, or pretends to state facts, which have not been contradicted, they were introduced here as such, with a view to provoke their refutation.

after having firmly maintained a most unequal struggle, they gave way only to superior numbers, not from fear or impotence, but from prudence and a fixed determination to collect their energy and rush back to the charge, elevated rather than depressed their spirit. From the orderly manner of their retreat (no army that was defeated to the extent stated could, or ever did pass unmolested over a single bridge in face of the victorious enemy); from their saving all cannon, except six or seven pieces broken down and thrown over the bridge, and from their losing no prisoner except the few that were heavily wounded and could not be removed—circumstances which form a just criterion of defeat—; from the important reinforcements that were on the point of joining them; from the tenor of their general's declaration, and, above all, from his preceding conduct, it was evident, that Russia fought, as yet, more to annoy the enemy than to bring every thing to an issue. She engaged in battle as long as caution and consistency of the adopted system would permit; but the hour of decision was not yet come, for which she reserved the inflexibility of her soldiers, and in which she was to tell them: "conquer or die!" Russia could have prolonged the war with safety, until such a time as she thought prudent to venture on the final effort to reap the fruits which she anticipated from her plan of warfare; and this would only have taken place, after the enemy was drawn into the interior, where he would have been deprived of all the advantages secured by his sudden irruption into the pro-

vinces, whose fertility and abundance of provision, which there was no time to destroy or remove, hitherto enabled him to maintain his immense forces with facility. She would have placed him in the situation either of discontinuing the pursuit of the Russians to the prejudice of his fame and military reputation ; or of following them through a waste country, which they would have been leaving behind them, at the hazard of sharing the fate of Charles XII. Russia might have done all this, but she wished it not. The inactivity of her allies from whom she was taught to expect assistance and vigorous co-operation, opened her eyes to the true nature of her situation ; and instructed her that, as her sacrifices concerned her less than those who did not choose to profit by them, she had a right to consult her nearer interests, and to stop the effusion of human blood in a contest, by the cessation of which, as far as relates to herself, she could gain as much as by the obstinate and even successful continuation. Besides, it is natural to suppose that she could not but feel dissatisfied with being deserted ; and in such a state, the enemy offering his hand and soliciting her friendship, was more welcome than the friend who made boundless professions without shewing the least inclination to fulfil them. Ought not the event which followed, to have been rather expected than received with surprise ? The wonder is that it did not take place sooner.

“ The Emperor, spurning the idea of being subsidized, requested merely a loan of five

millions which would have enabled him to carry on the war with success, at least, would have preserved his alliance, and this alone is worth something; yet, the men in whose wisdom, Sir, you had reposed your confidence and the management of your affairs, positively refused such request—refused the sum, for which, as well as for the payment of interest, more than sufficient security was offered, and which, a Sovereign less generous than Alexander, instead of soliciting and borrowing on his own account, would have claimed as his own, by every right that honour can give or sanction. I presume, this was not much calculated to encourage the Emperor to persevere in his friendship towards this country.

“ Still, however, he kept true to our cause. But, while he continued to exhibit a contrast to the conduct of England, a contrast by no means gratifying to the feelings of a true Englishman, the trade of his subjects, as if to finish the unworthy part which she was made to act, was annoyed, and even their persons were impressed into the British service in direct violation of every respect due to the protection given them by their own government. Good God ! At what time was this done ? *At the time that the blood of the Russians was flowing in those memorable battles, in which they had to withstand the whole force, directed against them of his Majesty, the Emperor of the French, with whom England was then, and is now, at war ;*

that is, in those battles, in the issue of which England was immediately concerned.

“ It is no defense to say, that such instances of oppression are few ; for, as long as there is one upon the record, and I know that such can be found in both cases, it remains unjustifiable, inasmuch as in the circumstances existing at the time it was calculated to make a deep impression on the Sovereign of Russia.

“ The Emperor, deceived in his expectations of assistance from England, had again to experience the same disappointment from Austria, as his reliance on this power was another of those auxiliary causes which contributed to involve him in the war ; but Austria has exonerated herself from blame by stating, what is perfectly true, that she could not act without the aid of this country, her means being dreadfully reduced by a series of disasters which befell her. The same inexplicable conduct which induced Russia to discontinue the war in a manner so prejudicial to us, prevented Austria from deciding it in favour of ourselves and of the suffering nations, to do which, according to all human probability, she had the power. Thus, which ever side is examined, the blame attached to it, recurs home to us with double force ; and the men on whom it fixes are now standing in your presence.

“ We exerted all our power to repair the



evil they occasioned ; but such was their curious economy, that contrary to the economy of all other men, it left us no sufficiency of means to execute our intentions. We endeavoured to send an expedition to the Continent which would have created a powerful diversion in favour of our ally, and might have materially altered the face of things ; but we had nothing that was necessary to fit it out in the time wanted. We made shift to scrape together a sum of £1,800,000, and transmitted it to the Emperor with all possible dispatch, requesting him to use it as he pleased, and to wait in the interval till January, when, with the assistance of Parliament, we should be able to furnish him with a more ample assistance ; but the sum, besides its being inadequate to the grand purpose of rousing Austria into action, and of erecting from the scattered wrecks of the Prussian monarchy a fresh bulwark of defense, appeared as an additional insult after the refusal of the original request, and was, therefore, rejected with indignation, and sent back by the same conveyance."

" What have you to say in reply to this, Mr. Orator ?"

" Please, Sir, the gentleman who has just done speaking has been indulging himself in imaginary, that is, in things remarkable and impracticable, I mean, practicable, but not feasible."

" No evasion, no prevarication, Sir ! You

can speak reasonably enough in a good cause. To the point, Sir ! Answer the charges, Sir ! — ‘The charges, I say !’

“ I was going, Sir, to answer ; but I thought it was necessary to make first a few remarks upon the subject by way of preliminaries——”

“ Curse your preliminaries. Say, yes or no. Come, Sir ! Are the circumstances laid to your charge true or not ? Answer this, Sir ! —One word will be sufficient.”

The Orator, after some stammering and hesitation, appeared at once to have lost the use of his speech, and stood as if he were petrified by a sudden glimpse of the gorgon’s head.

“ In being silent, you have told me, Sir, all I wished to know. Ruminatè on this, Sir ! ”

“ I have not done, Sir ! ” said the gentleman who produced the charges. “ Another act, trifling in its nature, but, perhaps, more important in its effect than all the preceding, remains yet to be disclosed.

“ These men, who stand now self-convicted before you, permitted Alexander to be libelled and insulted in a country, where even the libeller of Buonaparte was prosecuted and condemned ; they did this in a manner which con-

firmed the suspicion, entertained from the first, that the author of the libel was connected with them, and wrote, at least, with their knowledge if not with their approbation."

"Have you done this also?—You have not yet recovered from your silence. I understand you, Sir."

John Bull, however, was mistaken. The Orator had recovered his speech, and was now meditating how to extricate himself and his party, by one bold stroke, from their truly uncomfortable situation. At length, having mustered all his courage, he ventured, once more, to look at the face of John Bull, and though he perceived in it the evident prognostics of an approaching hurricane, yet he tuned his voice to a certain pitch, and after two or three hems, pronounced in a clear and distinct tone.

"Sir, if you wish me to speak the truth, I will boldly avow, that in neglecting the Emperor, we did no more than what is done every day."

The cheeks of John Bull reddened.

"We did not think that friendship worth cultivating, or those good wishes worth purchasing, which we hoped to obtain without expense. Whenever money was in question, we substituted fair words, and they fully answered the purpose. We descanted on the vast resour-

ces of the Russian Empire, on the disgrace which would attach to a Sovereign of such empire whenever he condescended to ask and receive subsidies from a foreign power; and the bait took extremely well. We were aware that Russia sought only a temporary relief, such as would enable her to meet the present exigency, and to keep the enemy at bay until she had collected her resources, which, from the extent of her dominions, were widely scattered, and required some time for preparation; but this we kept to ourselves, and whether from our own dexterity, or from a want of it in her agents with whom we had to deal, we were eminently successful in evading every proposal concerning money, until a direct application was made upon the subject. We then could prevaricate no longer.

“ A loan of five millions was solicited, and so far I admit the fact. But that we refused it, I flatly contradict the assertion. We permitted the Emperor to raise as much money as he pleased; we only declined to guarantee the loan.”

“ And what is this but refusing it? Do you think, that an individual of one country would or ever did advance money to a sovereign of another country, unless he could look to his own government for security?”

“ We knew this very well; and we prided ourselves upon our dexterity.”

“ You knew it, did you, indeed? Did you pride yourselves upon your dexterity? You quibblers! Miscreants! Blast m    sight no more! Let me never see you, never hear of you! Come not within a hundred miles of me; for, by the Eternal God! you shall feel, and feel most keenly, how strong is the arm of John Bull! Reptiles! Impostors! Tremble at my vengeance! Flee to the frozen pole! Yet even there you shall not escape me!”

Here the indignation of John Bull knew no bounds. His words crowded in so fast that they almost choked him. A loud yet indistinct sound broke from his lips, not unlike the bel-  
lowing of the animal, goaded to anger, whose name he bears.—But why should the stormy passion of John Bull be so tamely described?—

O Muse! that in the days of yore didst sing  
The wrath of the divine Achilles, who  
Kicked up such dust among the Greeks and Trojans,  
'Mong gods and goddesses! From Helicon,  
Where thy virginity is safe from the  
Unhallow'd plots of mortals,—where the dread  
Jove oft suspends his thunders, that he may  
List to thy tales of heroes,—Muse, descend  
On the swift winged courser! Pass strait to  
The chamber of thy humble servant, if  
The door be wide enough t'admit you both,  
And help him to describe in thy own style  
John Bull's fierce passion!—that posterity  
May hear it, and perpetuate the wonder,

Such as it is, from age to age.

Methinks,

I feel the presence of the maid divine.

I take my pen, a pinch of snuff, a dram,

And now, inspir'd on all sides, thus I sing :

With sudden start, John Bull, like mighty Atlas,  
 Uprose, and stood right on his legs, tremendous,  
 Dreadful to behold ! His eyes glar'd like  
 The midnight torches of the Snakespear-boys.  
 His lips were seen in trembling motion, like  
 Two mountains by an earthquake tossed : and from  
 His mouth, as if from Etna flaming, or  
 The foaming sea, forth issued vapours that  
 Obscured the hall in which he sat. But when he spoke—  
 O gods ! what voice !—'Twas like the roaring thunder  
 Of cataracts, which stuns the mortal ear.  
 His face was like the globe on which the place  
 Of each particular thought, of each passion  
 That raged within, was legibly impress'd :  
 While from his heaving breast, which seemed to swell  
 Like a balloon, a whirlwind threatened  
 To burst and sweep away friends, enemies,  
 Chairs, tables, glasses, windows, and the roof,  
 The walls, and the foundation of the house.  
 Such was the wrathful, the terrific John !  
 His left hand grasp'd the fatal instrument,  
 Which first proclaim'd th'unwelcome Northern War :  
 This he to pieces tore and scatter'd in  
 The air : when lo ! a miracle appeared,  
 Like which was nothing ever heard. Some god,  
 Or goddess, for no hero is without one,  
 That hover'd round John Bull, transform'd the pieces,  
 On sudden, into balls, which flew in all  
 Directions on the left, inflicting wounds

As various as such chance could make them. Now  
 The orator received the first ball in  
 His mouth, which stopp'd his utterance and knock'd  
 Him down. He that was full of plans and schemes  
 To blow the gates of hell, ill-fated man !  
 Had one ball pass'd right through his brains, yet he,  
 Another miracle ! remained alive.  
 He who stood nearest to John Bull, and fell  
 And coil'd himself up like a hedgehog, or  
 A snake, was wounded in his broadest part :  
 Not mortal was the wound, yet he scream'd loud  
 And sham'd most sorely hurt, that John Bull might not  
 Kick that part. Some one, I know not which,  
 Was struck with great force on the head ; the skull,  
 However, being well season'd, he escap'd  
 With a slight grazing of the skin. But he  
 Whose blazing face served as a lantern to  
 His party, when they grop'd their way in darkness—  
 And, faith, the lantern was in constant use—  
 Received another ball just on the top,  
 Or rather the carbuncle of his nose ;  
 But, strange to tell ! it only made him sneeze.  
 Not one of the offenders did escape  
 Untouch'd ; for it was Deity that aimed  
 The blows. Yet it was plain their execution  
 Was not to John Bull's liking ; and to please  
 His fancy better, he, with his right hand,  
 Snatch'd up the pond'rous chair, then, with his left,  
 Seizing a massy club, the offspring of  
 An ancient oak, he stood like frowning Fate,  
 Prepar'd to hurl destruction sure. He stamp'd  
 His foot ; and from the shock, convulsive, trembled  
 The edifice ; while of his ire the victims,  
 Appall'd, lay, palpitating, at his feet,

When, all at once, his dreadful purpose seemed  
Foregone. His uprais'd arms no longer kept  
Their forc'd position. He stood still, absorb'd  
In deep thought; and an awful pause ensued.---

A lion, roused to anger, shakes his mane,  
Roars, and the ground he lashes with his tail:  
Destructive vengeance flashing from his eye  
He rushes forth to seek his bold annoyers;  
But when he finds they are but cringing dogs  
Willing to lick his feet, he stops, and his  
Resentment ceases: with a look that seems  
To say: "You are unworthy of my vengeance."  
He coolly walks away.—So ceas'd, at once,  
The wrath of great John Bull. Such was his look;  
Such his composure, when adjusting his  
Broad hat and gloves, he, with an air expressive  
Of dignity, withdrew!—

Muse, short was thy  
Employ! Go, heav'nly maid, thy ways!

THE END.







